

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 040630
ORIGIN IO-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-05 ISO-00 /009 R

66011
DRAFTED BY IO:PBUNGE
APPROVED BY IO:PBUNGE
-----232216 017869 /73
P 232134Z FEB 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 040630

LIMDIS

FOL RPT KINGSTON 824 ACTION SECSTATE 21 FEB 77 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINGSTON 824

LIMDIS

FROM THE AMBASSADOR (DEPT. PLEASE PASS TO SENATOR MOYNIHAN)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JM
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MANLEY: CUBA AND DESTABILIZATION

1. SUMMARY: IN CORDIAL MEETING WITH SENATOR MOYNIHAN AND MYSELF FEBRUARY 17, PRIMIN MANLEY EXPRESSED VIEW THAT US-JAMAICA RELATIONS ARE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY "OUR SEPARATE VIEWS OF CUBA." HE SAID CASTRO IS A NATIONALIST (OR A MAOIST) AND IMPLIED THAT HE IS MIS-UNDERSTOOD BY THE USM MANLEY SUPPORTED US POLICY ON PUERTO RICO. ON DESTABILIZATION, HE SAID THE CIA MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR JAMAICA'S PREADLICTION VIOLNCE, BUT, HE IS CONVINCED CIA HELPED THE OPPOSITION
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WITH MONEY AND ADVICE DURING THE ELECTION. HE ALSO ACCUSED EMIGRANTS, CUBAN EXILES, AND THE "MAFIA" OF FINANCING THE JLP AND STREET GANGS. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT OER THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON NORTH/ SOUTH ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. AT REQUE T ON NATOR PATRICK MOYNIHAN (WHILE ON A PRIVATE VISIT TO JAMAICA), I ARRANGED MEETING WITH PRIMIN MANLEY AT 1 P.M. FEBRUARY 17 AT THE ROSE HALL INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL IN MONTEGO BAY. ALSO PRESENT

WERE LEONARD GARMENT AND NORMA SEGRE, PARLIAMENTARY
SECY IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRIMIN, AND MYSELF.

3. THE SENATOR OPENED THE CONVER ATION BY SPEAKING
OF HIS HIGH REGARD FOR DON MILLS (JAMAICAN PERMREP AT
UN) AND HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH ORLANDO PATTERSON,
NOTING THE INTERESTING IDEAS PATTERSON HAD BROUGHT
TO THE FIELD OF HOUSING, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT. THE PRIMIN SPOKE OF THE GOOD
WORK PATTERSON HAD DONE IN JAMAICA AND OF THE SPECIAL
HOUSING PROBLEMS PECULIAR TO KINGSTON AND HIS OWN CON-
STITUENCY.

4. THE SENATOR THEN TURNED TO CARIBBEAN AND INTER-
NATIONAL AFFAIRS SAYING THAT HE WOULD WELCOME THE
PRIMIN'S VIEWS AS AN OLD FRIEND OF THE US AND
AN IMPORTANT LEADER. MR. MANLEY SAID THAT REGARDING
THE US-JAMAICAN RELATIONSHIP, HE FEELS THERE IS A
BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING BASED ON SEPARATE VIEWS OF
CUBA. HE SAID CUBA HAS CHANGED GREATLY SINCE THE
DAYS OF THE CHE GUEVARA AND THAT THE "REVOLUTIONARY
EXPORT" IMAGE IS NO LONGER VALID. THERE IS A UNIVERSAL
POPULAR ACCEPTANCE OF CASTRO AND RESPECT FOR HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS.
EVERYBODY WHO HAS BEEN TO CUBA (REGARDLESS OF IDEOLOGICAL
COMMITMENT) IS AWARE OF THIS AND HAS SEEN THE ADVANCEMENT IN MANY
FILDS. MANLEY SAID CUBA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JAMAICA HAS BEEN
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"SCRUPULOUSLY PRINCIPLED." THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANY
INTERFERENCE IN JAMAICAN AFFAIRS. ALL THE WORKARS
AND OTHERS WHO COME HERE HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN INSTRUCTED
IN CUBA TO SAY NOTHING DEROGATORY ABOUT DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALISM OR HIS REGIME. "I AM HAVING A ROUGH TIME
AND AM GRATEFUL FOR THIS SUPPORT." MANLEY SAID HE FEELS
THAT A NUMBER OF CASTRO'S INITIATIVES, INCLUDING WORKERS'
BRIGADES MIGHT BE APPLICABLE IN JAMAICA. HE VIEWED CUBA
AS A STRONG ADVOCATE OF THE "THIRD WORLD POSITION" WHICH
IS VITAL TO THE SURVIVAL OF JAMAICA.

5. MANLEY SAID THAT THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM IS NOT
WORKING AND THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED IS A PROPER "INTER-
NATIONAL MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES." HE ENLARGED ON
THIS THEME SPEAKING OF THE LOW REALIZED VALUE OF THIRD
WORLD NATURAL RESOURCES AS CONTRASTED WITH THE HIGH COST
OF MANUFACTURED GOODS FROM THE WEST.

6. RETURNING TO CUBA, HE SAID THAT CONTRARY TO US
OPINION, "CUBA IS NOT AN OUTPOST OF COMMUNISM. CASTRO
IS NOT PLEASED WITH HIS DEPENDENCY ON THE RUSSIANS
AND IS PRIMARILY A NATIONALIST RATHER THAN A RUSSIAN-
TYPE COMMUNIST. IN FACT, CASTRO IS MORE NEARLY A MAOIST.
WE GET ALONG VERY WELL AND RESPECT EACH OTHER, ALTHOUGH

WE AGREE TO DIFFER ON IDEOLOGY." MANLEY SAID THAT THE ISOLATION OF CUBA IS "MORALLY WRONG" AND INDEFENSIBLE. FURTHERMORE, "IT OFFENDS AND ALIENATES THE YOUNG WHO NO LONGER VIEW CASTRO AS A ROMANTIC REVOLUTIONARY BUT RATHER AS AN EFFECTIVE LEADER WHO HAS DISCOVERED NEW AND EXCITING WAYS OF DOING THINGS." THE PRIMIN SAID THAT HE HOPES HE CAN BE HELPFUL IN EFFECTING A RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE US AND CUBA. HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE EXTREMELY BENEFICIAL BOTH TO THE US AND JAMAICA. HE SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZES THAT THERE ARE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BUT "I AM A REALISTIC POLITICIAN NOT A STARRY-EYED IDEALIST." HE SAID THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THAT
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THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY HAS TO REMAIN INVIOLE. "FORTUNATELY YOU DID NOT SEND IN THE MARINES WHEN I IMPOSED THE BAUXITE LEVY AS YOU MIGHT PREVIOUSLY HAVE DONE."

7. SENATOR MOYNIHAN RAISED THE QUESTION OF PUERTO RICO, SAYING THAT THE CUBANS' POSITION ON THIS CAUSES US CONCERN. WHILE ADMITTING THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO DIRECT INTERVENTION, MOYNIHAN NOTED THAT CUBA'S ACTIVITIES HAVE NOT BEEN HELPFUL. HE DESCRIBED THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PUERTO RICO, POINTING OUT THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS FREE TO OPERATE IN A DEMOCRATIC CONTEXT AND THAT WE BELIEVE FIRMLY IN THE RIGHT OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE HAD DIFFERED WITH CASTRO ON HIS PUERTO RICAN POLICY AND HAD REFUSED TO INCLUDE A PARAGRAPH AGREEING WITH THE CUBAN POSITION IN THE JOINT STATEMENT CONCLUDING HIS 1975 VISIT. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVES THE MATTER IS SOMETHING OF A "ROMANTIC FIXATION" WITH CASTRO, WHO FEELS HE "OWES PUERTO RICO AN OLD HISTORIC FAVOR." SENATOR MOYNIHAN POINTED OUT THAT NON-INTERVENTION GOES BOTH WAYS.

8. SENATOR MOYNIHAN WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN APPOINTED TO THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE IN THE SENATE AND THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE HAD BEEN ACCUSATIONS BY THE PNP OF DESTABILIZATION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES BY THE CIA. THE PRIMIN REPLIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A WORRISOME PERIOD OF VIOLENCE PRIOR TO THE CAMPAIGN AND AN ABVIOUS MOBILIZATION OF STREET VIOLENCE. THE NATURE OF THIS WAS SUCH THAT IT BECAME APPARENT THAT SOME "INTELLIGENCE" FORCE WAS DIRECTING A STRON DESTABILIZATION EFFORT. "SOME ELEMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION HAD FORMED AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE, PROBABLY WITH THE 'MIFIA' AND ANTI-CASTRO ELEMENTS, TO PROVIDE
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AN ILLEGAL ESCAPE ROUTE FOR FUNDS. ALSO, A NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS TO THE US AND CANADA HAD RAISED SUBSTANTIAL SUMS OF MONEY WITH WHICH ARMS WERE SMUGGLED INTO JAMAICA AND ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR JOURNALISTIC ATTACKS ON THE COUNTRY". MANLEY NOTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD MOUNTED A CAMPAIGN AGAINST DRUG SMUGGLING IN COOPERATION WITH THE US (OPERATION BUCCANEER) AND THIS HAD SERIOUSLY AFFECTED MAFIA ELEMENTS. " IN TURN THE MAFIA FINANCED THE RIGHT-WING OF THE JLP AND STREEG GANGS AND ACTIVELY COL- LUDED WITH EMIGRANTS IN OTHER DESTABILIZATION EFFORTS." A LOT OF PEOPLE IN JAMAICA THOUGHT THAT THE CIA WAS INVOLVED JUST AS IT HAD BEEN IN CHILE, GUANA AND ELSEWHERE. BUT MANLEY SAID, SO FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, HE THOUGHT THAT IT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN THE CIA. IN ANY CASE HE HAD BEEN ASSURED BY THE AMBASSADOR AND SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, AND HE ACCEPTED THIS. " ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME OF MY OWN PEOPLE CALLED ME EXTREMELY NAIVE. I AM UNSURE ABOUT THE AMBASSADOR, BUT HOW COULD I REALLY KNOW? I WAS NEVER REALLY SURE THAT HE WOULD KNOW ABOUT IT OR PER- HAPS EVEN DR. KISSINGER. I MIGHT NOT REALLY KNOW UNTIL I READ ABOUT IT IN SOME CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORT SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, I AM SURE THAT NOTHING IS HAPPENING NOW, AND OUR OWN INTELLIGENCE HAS CONFIRMED THIS."

9. NEVERTHELESS, THE PRIMIN WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE CIA DID INDEED HELP THE OPPOSITION DURING THE ELECTION WITH MONEY, PRACTICAL ADVICE, PRINTING, AND IN OTHER WAYS." MY CID (CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DIVISION) HAS TOLD ME THAT THIS IS DEFINITELY TRUE." HE SAID THAT HE MAKES A DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN DESTABILIZATION AND ELECTION INTERVENTION, "WHICH IS STANDARD PROCEDURE." " THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF INTERVENTION BY THE CIA IN ELECTIONS." THE SENATOR EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SURPRISE AT THIS STATEMENT AND SAID THAT HE THOUGHT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PRIMIN HAD BEEN MISINFORMED.

10. SENATOR MOYNIHAN THEN REFERRED TO THE NORTH SOUTH NEGOTIATIONS AND ASKED WHETHER MANLEY THOUGHT THAT THE FOLLOW-UP IN NAIROBI AND ELSEWHERE HAD BEEN SATISFACTORY. MANLEY SAID THAT HE IS "DREADFULLY DISAPPOINTED," AND THAT HE IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE LACK OF PROGRESS. HE SAID THAT SIR EDGERTON RICH- ARDSON, THE JAMAICAN REPRESENTATIVE, IS VERY DISTURBED AND UPSET AT THE RESULTS OF NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR. SENATOR MOYNIHAN SAID THAT HE FOUND THE RESULTS OF THE NAIROBI MEETING CONFUSING AND THAT THE COALITION OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NON-ALIGNED IN THE FINAL VOICE

HAD BEEN MOST DISAPPOINTING AND UNHELPFUL. HE HOPED THAT ON A FUTURE OCCASION THE JAMAICANS MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN PROVIDING AT LEAST FOUR MORE VOTES. HE ENDED THE MEETING BY INVITING THE PRIMIN TO VISIT THE SENATE WHEN HE CAME TO WASHINGTON. MR. MANLEY PROMISED TO DO SO.

11. COMMENT: THE MEETING WAS CORDIAL, ALTHOUGH MANLEY APPEARED TO BE UNDER SOME STRAIN AND WAS MUCH LESS RELAXED THAN I HAVE SEEN HIM UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES. HE HAS, HOWEVER, HAD THE FLU FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE LINE HE TOOK ON DESTABILIZATION APPEARSTO BE A COMPARATIVELY NEW ONE (THOUGH THERE WERE FAMILIAR ECHOES) BLAMING THE ANTI-CASTROITES, THE MAFIA, AND EMIGRANTS RATHER THAN THE USG. HE CAME ACROSS MORE STRONGLY PRO-CUBAN THAN HERETOFORE, AND HIS STATED CONVICTION THAT THE CIA WAS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE ELECTION IS A NEW ONE AND DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR THE FUTURE. HE MAY BE TRYING TO TAKE OUT SOME INSURANCE BY MANUFACTURING A CHIP. GERARD

UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL STABILITY, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 23-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE040630
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO:PBUNGE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770063-0291
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0d4f1fbf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3234176
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH MANLEY: CUBA AND DESTABILIZATION
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JM, US, CU
To: USUN N'Y
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0d4f1fbf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009